

Leicester, Mass.
Jan. 25. 1867.

My best regards to Alfred, and to your dear son.

Dear friend Webb;

Yours of Dec. 32^d came in due course and received the welcome which the sight of your handwriting always awakens. It is true we write much less often than formerly; and there are doubtless sufficient reasons ^{for it} on both sides, without suspecting any "want of good will on either side" - a thing I cannot bear to have suggested, even to be disclaimed or scouted. If I could forget, or cease to remember with lasting gratitude and lifelong blessing, such active sympathy, such hearty & uniform support, such invaluable friendship and cooperation as we, the American Abolitionists, proscribed, denounced, reviled, by the would-be leaders of opinion, by the acknowledged possessors of power, - received at the hands of yourself & others, in Dublin, Waterford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, London, & many other places in the "United Kingdom," during the long period of our intense moral conflict with this Nation, - I should be wholly unworthy to have ever been a sharer in that steadfast friendship & co-operation, to have ever been an abolitionist, or to be now a friend and helper of the redeemed slave, the growing & rising freed-man. Some things are to be taken for granted; the very questioning of them, or the apparent need of hinting that no change has come, ~~seems~~ to start the fear that some change has come. I know of none such. Could I go again to England, the first places my heart would seek out, for its most home-like testing place, would be at Dublin, at Clifton, and at Edinburgh, - including also Chesterfield, (From my Bishop), and Birmingham where I have an Uncle, Sam'l. A. Goddard, who, in addition to claims of kindred, & great personal integrity & manliness, has added such efficient service to our Country's cause during the war, as gives him a fourfold right to my esteem & affection.

We differed, much - you and I - during the war, as we both know. I have frequently had occasion to speak of what seemed to me the singular ~~glad~~ want of power to penetrate the obscure and contradictory surroundings of our National position during the war, which affected so generally the British Abolitionist. It was not so with all. George Thompson saw through it, from the very first moment - saw where the absolute wrong was, where the absolute right was, & the reciprocity which lay on both parties to gravitate, the one to more entire and fatal committal to the wrong, the other to a more unanimous & unequivocal adoption of the right; proclaimed & urged it publicly; & did much to establish the minds of the middle & working classes against the Slaveholder's Rebellion.

I think Mary Estlin never doubted, or lost her approving sympathy for Mr. Garrison, Mr. Phillips, & the rest of us, (when for the first 2 or 3 yrs. of the war, we saw eye to eye, & acted with absolute unity, until the passion for political change, & impatience of the order of Providence, led W. P. & his adherents off into Cleveland Conventions, affiliations with old pro-slavery political hacks, and schemes for promoting personal ambitions, which would have blighted the ^{character} ~~face~~ of the Anti-Slavery Reform, had Garrison & the Abolts. generally gone with ^{them} them.) Nor did Eliza Wigham, I think, ever withdraw her confidence in W. Garrison's good judgment, although I think it was somewhat

shaken at one time, and she had to trust to faith rather than sight. But with those exceptions, & yourself, of course, how you held well to ~~even~~ their Anti-Slavery consistency! Well! we differed ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ opinions. But I, for one, never was alienated

or swayed from any of you. I knew that you had much ground for your doubts & fears, - much ground, i.e., which appeared to warrant you in withholding sympathy from the Northern effort, & to take up a sort of neutral position; & led you to feel that you could not identify yourselves with us, of the North. I lamented it, as you know, - I wondered at it; I still wonder at it; because, as I saw, & you saw, there sprang up among those who did

see it, did take their position at once, & never wavered. Such were Gasparin & others on the Continent; such were G. Thompson, Forster, Thos. Hughes, Baptist Noel, Newman, Newman Hall, Bright, Mill, and many more; and if these were so clear, I asked myself, why should not the Abolitionists of S'r. Britain be equally so? For all that, I knew that those Abolitionists were not to be judged of my judgment. I knew they had stood a quarter of a century & more on the rock of justice & right; that they had a moral vision which had commanded respect, and which deserved respect still, & which I should have my respect, even when I was convinced it was not infallible.

— Now, ~~there~~, briefly, are the ^{circumstances} ~~ground~~ of the difference of opinion. Have you ever seen any evidence that my regard, & personal consideration, & remembrance of the past, have been touched by that difference? I think not. And I hope you have not supposed you saw any such evidence. Or, if you have, that it was as short-lived as the moment which brought it. —

— But I have preached over that, until I wonder at myself for taking up so much time & paper about it, & am tempted to put it all in the fire, as quite worthless. But you will please overlook it, & put it in fire yourself, letting it go no further — & construe it, as meant, as a simple assurance that no differences of opinion, — especially when you had so much reason for yours, — have ever come in to touch our friendship, — at least not on my part, nor, as I believe, on yours.

One great reason for my writing no more during the year past is found in the work wh. has occupied me, — the Testimonial to Mr. Garrison. I could not write, perhaps, without some allusion to it, & might seem to be asking contributions from abroad, which we felt we had no right (in a sense) to do, however appropriate to do so, on general grounds. But we had decided to propose a National Testimonial, and, ^{so} that the co-operation of persons in other countries, if it came at all, should be absolutely unsolicited. And so it has been.

There came first Mrs. C. C. Nichols's donation, so gentle in itself, so honorable to Garrison as well as herself in manner of its offering. Next, & within the last month, to us, through the hand of James Russell Lowell, a list of 85 names (24 in England, & 1 in Glasgow), with a contribute £157.5.0. Among these names were John Stuart Mill, George Bright, Thos. B. Potter, Wm. E. Forster, Charles Buxton, Dr. Weston (the widow of Thos. Fawell B., I suppose), the Croppers, Liverpool, &c., the Crossfields, T. C. Leyleg, A. Bright, &c. &c. Now I have the pleasure of adding your name to ours and to feel that none worthier stands there, and none will come more nearly to Garrison's heart. — Our progress with the collection is not rapid. Something over \$20,000 has been contributed. We have been subjected to many intermissions and delays; — and I am conscious for myself, however interested in the movement, of a want of pushing face in the getting of money. We are persevering however, & feel confident of adding very considerably to the amount named, & I do not anticipate the getting of the entire sum at first name. — Garrison is far from well. The injury to his right arm has been reached by any treatment, & even now occasions him frequent & severe pain. The crippled state of his life — 3 years now past adds greatly to his cares, anxieties, & personal labors. — It being right arm wh. was injured, he for many months could not use pen at all; & does so now only with difficulty. I am sending (by same mails, if the snow-blocked state of our Railroads permit newspaper mail to be sent — within a week, all travel has been interrupted, & communication again & again wholly cut off, by the heavy falls of snow, & regular movements of R. R. trains are scarcely restored) 2 late nos. of "Independent", wherein you will see articles of W. L. G. on ^{took} Impeachment of the President. He ^{took} early his stand for this measure, & in these articles advocates it in a manner it is easily to be understood. You ask my opinion. I think Mr. Johnson ought to be impeached for his action in the Louisiana matter, wh. was in the New Orleans Massacre of July 30th last. Very many other things has done ^{on very} bad, & still more, has neglected many things of absolute duty & necessity, enforcement of laws, protection of union citizens, wh. &c. But it will be hard to ~~convict~~ ^{convict} on negative grounds. In the case he positively put his hand to illegal and unconstitutional acts.

setting aside the ~~loyal~~ ~~but~~ ~~elected~~ government of a State - with which he had no right to interfere - removing the Governor, & putting a miserable creature of his own in his place. That is the special act of ground on which I think he should be impeached. His whole action, as President, has been ground of impeachment. And yet, so thoroughly despised is he, & to so great extent ~~become~~ ^{has lost his power,} that I do not believe all the mischief, wh. Garrison & others anticipate, will ensue, if it be not done. Congress, or rather the House of Reps', seems to me to have taken a very wise step, in directing their Judiciary Committee to inquire whether there exist reasons & grounds for impeachment. The people demand that this duty shall be faithfully done, & will sustain the impeachment, if such grounds for it be shown.

My Cousin S. J. May is pretty well - approaching now his 70th birthday - i.e. in Sept. next. His only daughter ~~has~~ ^{is} married is now in Europe with her husband, & having left her children at home in his care, & an Aunt's, he has felt unusually confined at home, and we have not seen him ^{here} for nearly a year & a half. The absent ones will soon return, & then he will (shortly, ^{after}) make old Massachusetts a visit. — There is a desperate effort making now, all over the land, to restore old sectarian lines, & division soally, ^{religious} to recover old priestly & sectarian power, & revive the old partisan feelings, - which the common duties, labor, & sympathies of the war had done much to efface & break down. It is, to me, a most sickening business, and gives me a feeling of positive loathing. The great instinct & interest of Religion - the most vital, intimate, delicate, and sensitive of all things, is used as a coarse tool & weapon of inflaming & alarming, & driving people & especially young people into Church-memberships, & "Submission to the Lord", & the like, - which (as a sensible young man in our town, a teacher in the "Academy" here, said) is "demoralizing" to individual character, and to general society.

But my time is nearly gone, and I must say a word on business. You asked me ^{whether} you had before asked me to pay your subscription to the "Nation", & that of Mr. W. B. Jacob also, I had never had any such request, but I shall be happy to aid you about that, or any similar business, at any time. Just

Dec.

before receiving yours of <sup>22nd, I received a letter from
Sam'l M. Powell, (now Ed. of the "Standard" as you doubtless know)
- to whom I had written to inquire about the sale of certain
copies of the "Life of Capt. John Brown" - saying he had "paid
five dollars, for R. D. Webb, a few months ago, to the "Nation",
a subscription for some Western friend" - of which, he added,
he had rendered you as yet no account. When I got yours
(wh. was Jan. 12.) - or shortly after, I wrote to the "Nation", to get
the acct. of y^rself & Mr. Jacob, and have rec'd. from that office
bills for ^{yearly} payment in both cases. That for y^rself runs from
Feb. 13/67 to Feb. 13/68, that for Mr. Jacob, May 14/67. to May 14/68; -
showing that you owe nothing on the paper at present, & will not until
Feb. 13th, when payment, in advance, will be due, if you continue
your subscription, \$5. per annum, or \$3. for six months. Mr. Jacob's ^{paper} is
paid up to May 14th. Both the bills sent me are made out at
\$6.00; - the \$1.00 additional must be on account of prepayments
of foreign postage. That is only 2cts. on each paper; and it seems
to me that \$1. additional should suffice for that. I know of no
other additional expense to which a foreign subscription subjects them.
I suppose however you would wish me to pay Mr. Powell for
what he had paid on y^r acct.; and I wrote to him ~~not~~ to send
the ^{bill} ~~acc~~ to you, but to me. He has not yet done so; and I have
concluded to delay this ~~letter~~ to middle of next week, hoping to be
able to say something more definite on the subject.</sup>

Early in December I had the great pleasure of listening
to a lecture, in Boston, from Henry Vincent. It was upon
this country, & the mutual relations of Gr. Britain & the U.S.
and was full of thoughts, & happy ideas, & sensible suggestions
poured out in such an uninterrupted flow of language as I
have seldom listened to. I saw one elderly man of during
really crying - the tears rolling down - at the admirable
descriptions of Mr. Vincent gave of the patience of the working
people of England during the American War, & their wonderful
determination not to give their countenance to the slaveholders
of the South, no matter at what cost of hunger & suffering.

to themselves, — & then, again, when he described the effect on whole communities in England, of the news of the Assassination of Mr. Lincoln. He showed himself quite a master of the keys which open the heart. His lecture must have a great effect in promoting a good understanding between the two countries ^{among the working & middle classes of England &c.} by showing how deep, & strong, & wide spread is the ~~real~~ friendship for this country. After the lecture, Geo. Thompson introduced me to Mr. Vincent, and I had opp^o. for a brief word. I couldn't detain him, even if I would, for he was evidently quite exhausted by his effort & wished to retire. I spoke of your wish that he would be the bearer to you of the volume of Charles Lamb's Miscellaneous writings, and he spoke most kindly of you, & said he would take it with pleasure, and I handed it to him on the spot. I trust you will, in due time, receive it.

The volume, with the payment to Powell (\$5.) for "Nation", will make a small acct. against you; but you need send me nothing, as I have \$13. now in my hands, for copies of John Brown's Life sold, & ought soon to have more. There are about 25 copies remaining in my hands, or with agents, yet to be accounted for. I continue to sell them at \$1. each, as you have never given me any other directions; but it is extremely low for them, as our currency is now. ~~There~~ ^I have rarely an opp^o. to sell one now, there being no longer an Anti-Slavery Office in Boston, & that in New York, ~~being~~ ^{now} only a very contracted room, in the 4th story of a building in ~~Head~~ ^{Nassau} Street, used almost wholly for the editing & mailing of the "Standard". I might place them in the hands of a bookseller, if you should prefer that course, & have a higher price put upon them — \$1.50 at least. Advertising them, & commissions for selling, would take a percentage off that, & a large one too on so few books. I only suggest this, for your consideration, & choice. I am entirely willing to continue the care of them, disposing of them as I have opportunity.

And now, in reading over my letter, I am strongly minded, & indeed at one moment resolved, to destroy the whole first sheet. Why, I asked, should I go over that whole ground, when R. D. W. knows all about as well as I, — not to say much better? Cui bono? At all events. — And with a less generous & considerate correspondent than you, I would do so.

Now as I am really short of time, I hardly feel up to no writing, or substituting other matter. Let it go for just such a frank talk as we might have together over old times, if we met; I do not think, please, that I had any other purpose than to try to make it clear & sure to your mind, that the only great difference in view opinion wh. had ever existed between us had never caused in the slightest abatement of good feelings & affectionate regard. I should indeed worse ashamed of myself, than ever I was before, if such w. the case. - So I let the whole stand, trusting to your sensible & construction of my meaning. —

My uncle at Birmingham, whom I have spoken, wrote a great deal during the war in London & Birmingham papers, & in brief pamphlets, to oppose the pro-Southern ~~efforts~~ of in Parliament, Confederate Agents, & their joint machinations agst. this country. He kept himself well informed as to the course of our Govt. & the movements of our armies, & never lost heart, or his confidence in the end. Mr. Bright again & again acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. Goddard. I have original letters to my uncle from John Bright, and the Am^d. Minister, Chas. Francis Adams, expressing much more than I have said, & in the most unqualified manner. He is thinking now of republishing his letter, or a selection from them, (ch. Mr. Bright namely commands,) & will, I suppose, do so. He is in very limited circumstances, and at the close of the war I had the pleasure of sending a purse of \$ 2000. for him (among his relatives almost exclusively in this country.) Charles Sumner has admitted to me & high with of Mr. Goddard's merits, & has endeavored to obtain for him appointment to a U. S. Consulate in England, but thus far in vain. His dear daughter, Julia, is the author of some little books for young people, & writer for some magazines - you may have met with her name. - His daughter, an occasional correspondent of mine, is a very noble girl. She & her spine affection, has been a great sufferer, & still is, has to lie down nearly the whole time, - can only be carried or wheeled about in a sort of garden-chair, but her spirit is so alive, cheery, & given to doing & thinking of & for others, she is a lesson & admonition to ~~all~~ ^{all who know her}. She has had a class of pupils nearly through her illness, and I believe still has. He has several other children, grad. at Oxford with highest honors, & now is a Clergyman in the Ch. of Eng.

- We had a capital letter from my son Edward one day this week - began to feel quite anxious, as it was so long since we had heard. His letter began in the Straits of Magellan Nov. 25, & closed at Valparaiso Dec. 17. He is very well, & has had some interesting experiences. He is probably now on the way to the Sandwich Islands - his ship being attached to the North Pacific Squadron. I & my wife are in usual health - my wife better than during the autumn & the end of the year, are in usual health. Your love to you. I am, truly & always. Your, Sam'l. May Jr.

Boston, Jan. 29/62.

Dear friend Webb. — I delayed

this to give you something more particular about the "Nation" subscription wh. A. M. Powell had paid, & to-day I have a letter from him. His recollection is at fault, & so his letter is not very satisfactory, but I will quote what he does say —

"The Nation bill, for R.D.W. (on acc^t. of someone whose name I cannot call to mind) came to me at a time when many things were pressing for attention, — together with a memorandum, when P. Pillsbury left, for back numbers of the Standard. I made a note of these, distinct from Standard business, & filed carefully away. — so carefully that I cannot find it now, as I look. I delayed writing till the Standard files could be searched. We find it impossible to supply the back numbers wanted." He then says he had been to "Nation" office, & examined their books, but could not identify the name of your friend for whom he had paid, & adds — "Please ask R.D.W. to re-state to you, at once, for whom he requested P.P. to pay a subscription to the 'Nation'; this ~~does~~ answer will doubtless give name & address," &c. &c.

— I will pay this \$5. at once, & charge to you, as there can be no doubt of Powell's correctness as to the main fact. I feel very confident; I suppose you would have me do so. — Powell sends me a duplicate receipt of yr. own subscription — for \$7.04, dated Apr. 12/61, & showing payment to Feb. 14. 1867. I don't suppose you wish this duplicate sent you; but if you do, Please mention it. Also, — if you wish me to renew your subscription after mid. of February (at \$6.50) you will please to notify me, and I shall be pleased to attend to it for you. As I said, you are to send no money — at present, at least. — I shall not put up price of "John Brown life", unless you direct, but Powell agrees with me, that \$1.50 may very properly be asked for them.

You asked me what I think of W. Phillips now — if I don't think he is right. I do not, in the points where I have thought him wrong — 1. In his treatment of Mr. Lincoln, & espousal of Gen. Fremont's claims (or cause) for the Presidency. 2. In continuing the Anti-slavery.

A. S. Societies. In regard to other matters, & especially^{as} to all Anti-sl. principles, & to the National duty to the free people, - their rights, social & civil, their education, full protection, &c. &c., there never was any difference among abolitionists. We were all deceived in Andrew Johnson, - Charles Sumner was deceived, & was the means of misleading others. When he came home from Washington, in summer of 1865, he told us explicitly that we might trust Andrew Johnson. Johnson lied to him, has lied to the whole Repubⁿ. party, & to the Nation. This is not vituperation - it is the naked fact; and a more terrible fact to us, in the circumstances, need not be looked for. One fact would be worse, viz. to have a majority of the people uphold him - to have Congress the mere register of his edicts. Neither of these facts exist - we trust in God, in truth, in the right, & in the intelligence of the people, that neither of them will exist.

- And we throw ourselves in with all the loyal people, - not to censure, or carp, or coldly criticize, but, as a part of them, to watch & applaud the public events, animate them in every right measure, & stimulate their faith & courage for the yet unperfected work. I hold it possible & cheap to continue the A. S. Societies. So far as they have now any effect, it is to throw suspicion on ~~the~~ all that has been gained, & checked for freedom, - to undervalue it, & disparage it. Consider: - the Mass. A. S. Socy. held its "Ann. Meeting" here last week. It has only a name to live. It has not had one solitary meeting the whole year, to the best of my knowledge & belief - not one, nor sent out an agent nor a lecturer, has no office anywhere & no operations. Last summer it nominally called 2 open-air meetings, 4th July, & 1st Aug. But these were not, in any sense, Social meetings, but local meetings, wh. might have been (I would have been doubtful,) called without intervention of any society. Much the same is true of the Amⁿ. A. S. Socy. It has no office, save the small edit. & mailing room of the "Standard", in 4th story of a building in the heart of the commercial part of New York, where no strangers, customers, buyers, ladies, or the general public, would ever go, for A. S. publications, &c.

- It may be its existence, as you said ~~said~~ in a previous letter, "can do no harm"; - tho' I think it may also be otherwise. - One harm, I think, attended the meeting in Boston last week. It brought

to its platform several weak, yet head-strong, individuals,
who thought it expedient & becoming to ~~entreat~~ ^{entreat} Garrison for not
being present at said meeting (after he had distinctly withdrawn,
& none could have expected him!), & to revile him as having
betrayed & deserted the cause of freedom & of the Negro!
course, this doesn't harm Garrison, - the "harm" I speak of is in
another direction, viz. that the good old Anti-Slavery name
& Cause ~~trip~~ is brought into disrepute, so far as these men
can do it; - & with those, who cannot or do not discriminate,
it is brought into disrepute. And W. Phillips stands at its
head, & bears this reviling thrown on Garrison, & listens to the most
falsiong adulation of himself, without a word. - It doesn't
seem to me good, or right, or scarcely decent. Wendell Phillips
doesn't need these meetings for his own influence; - that is, probably,
much compromised by them. He can have a much larger
audience, at any time, when he wishes to publicly discuss any
great topic. There is a bitter, a savage, & a most contemptible
spite against Garrison, because he will be his own man, and
will not bend to the purposes of others. That I know. Phillips,
while sedulously careful himself what he says if Mr. Garrison, gives
countenance & encouragement to perfectly atrocious & shameful
things, cast about by men, who have no self-control, no coolness
& judgment, & in many cases, no capacity of thinking soundly.
- Phillips saw through Andrew Johnson somewhat earlier than
Garrison, - & not much earlier; but P. was a general censorer,
& where all men, (& Congress especially) were condemned with most
sweeping vehemence, (the "Swindling Congress", etc.), it would be strange
if he did not sometimes (& often indeed) hit right. He has no eminence
over Garrison, - but on the contrary, in my belief stands far
beneath, in sound, clear moral insight, in reliable warning and
doctrine, and in services of the utmost value to humanity in general,
& our country in particular. But I desire none of these comparisons,
& they are not of our seeking. The partisans of W. Phillips, it is,
who are thrusting him before the public, whenever they can get a
hearing. - I have written this sheet Caricature Calamo,
& with the portuguese part at hand; - cannot read it over,

& you will please forgive blunders. - I don't like to be asked about M.R., for I am conscious of feelings & very strong a disapprobation of much that he has done & encouraged, that I am very likely to be biased; but when I am, again & again, as you are of, I am quite at up to speak out.

My wife & daughter don't give up asking, if you are not coming to this country. Couldn't you step over the Spring, & pass a summer with us? You would see much that would interest you, & many who would delight to see you.

I can no more. Farewell,

Affectionately, W. S. May Jr.

Do you still keep up Turkish baths?